

THEY GOT THE BLAME

The Story of Scapegoats in History

By

KENNETH M. GOULD

Foreword by

ELMER DAVIS

Drawings by

JACOB LANDAU

Price, 25 cents

ASSOCIATION PRESS

347 Madison Avenue

New York

1944

COPYRIGHT, 1942, BY THE INTERNATIONAL COM-
MITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS



PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

HAO
.G73

FOREWORD

This is a total war; which means considerably more than fighting with planes and tanks and battleships. The enemy has even deadlier weapons—weapons which he used in France, in the Low Countries, in Scandinavia, in the Balkans, to undermine the people's will to resist; weapons which he is using here. Propaganda is a great deal more than persuading people to believe something that isn't true; it is a technique that works below the surface of the mind, warping men's emotions with fantasies and fears, diverting their thinking toward economic conflicts, political dissension, religious prejudice, until the nation as a whole is disintegrated, incapable of the concerted action which alone will lead to victory.

Propaganda has plenty of devices; but perhaps the most useful tactic of the dictators was nothing devised in Berlin or Rome or Tokyo. It is a borrowed trick, as old as tyranny itself—a trick which depends for its success on that all too common inclination of the human race to blame all its troubles on somebody else.

We have seen how the dictators have worked up unreasoning prejudice against innocent scapegoats to provide an outlet for the grievances of their peoples—grievances due mostly to the dictators themselves; but, if the blame can be diverted, that very resentment helps the dictators to stay in power. But this trick of finding scapegoats is nothing new; since the dawn of history, people have been fooled, in times of stress, in just that way.

Never in history was there a period of such universal stress and danger as the times we live in; and every American ought to see clearly precisely where that danger lies. The one thing we cannot afford is to let ourselves be muddled by a smoke screen of false

18 Apr 45 Lib. Quater

issues, to make scapegoats of other Americans for difficulties which are the fault of our enemies. We must not let ourselves be blinded by religious prejudice, or be sidetracked into political and economic witch hunts. For not only does our own future, and probably the world's future, depend on our ability to fight straight on through to victory; it depends as well on our ability to think straight through, to the end of the war and afterward. If democracy is to have a future, and if the human race is to have a decent future, we must learn to recognize and to repel just such attacks on the people's understanding and the people's will as Kenneth Gould has so effectively set forth in this pamphlet.

ELMER DAVIS

New York

February, 1942

CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	3
CASTING OUT THE DEVIL	7
The Original "Scapegoat"	10
Penance by Proxy	11
The Power of Custom	12
Trickery Creeps In	13
RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION	15
The Blood of the Martyrs	15
Christians Turn Persecutor	17
Protestants Take Their Turn	18
"Popish Plots"	19
The Irish "Invasion"	21
"Know-nothingism"	22
The "Tragic Era"	24
THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN	25
Restrictions on Voting	26
Residential Segregation	26
"Jim Crow" Laws	27
Public Funds	27
Economic Discrimination	27
Justice	29
ARE YOU A MASON?	31
THE JEW AS SCAPEGOAT	32
Russia Invents the Pogrom	33
The Nazi's Number One Scapegoat	36

	PAGE
AMERICA: "MELTING POT" OR PATCHWORK?.....	41
Narrowing the Nozzle	43
The Anti-foreign Drive	45
LABOR VERSUS CAPITAL	48
Main Street Versus Wall Street	49
Labor's Upward Struggle	50
SUMMING UP	52
APPENDIX	55
I. Questions of Fact and Interpretation	55
II. Activities for Intercultural Education	56
BIBLIOGRAPHY	62

They Got the Blame

CASTING OUT THE DEVIL

DRUMS ARE BEATING and women are wailing in a jungle village of India. The primitive tribe of the Bhars is in trouble. An epidemic of cholera has broken out. Man after man is stricken with the dread disease and dies in agony within a few hours. The stiffening corpses are thrown upon the ever-smoking funeral pyre. Those who are still healthy flee into their thatched huts to escape the spreading infection. Sanitation and medical science are totally lacking. The only cause for pestilence known to the Bhars is the anger of evil demons, and something must be done to get rid of them.

The priests swing into action. They parade the streets, chanting prayers in weird minor tunes. From the roof of each house, they take a handful of straw. These are mixed with rice, melted butter, and spices, and burned at a shrine to the east of the village, as an offering to the gods.



LANEALU

Then the priests cast lots with small white sticks and choose a young water buffalo. The animal must be black as midnight, and it must be a female. They daub it with red paint. Some grain and cloves are gathered in a yellow cloth and tied to its back. The buffalo is driven through the village. The people rush out of their houses carrying lighted torches, and make a tremendous din, screaming, beating pans and drums, and firing guns, to frighten the cholera demons into the body of the unfortunate victim. Finally, the terrified animal is pelted with sticks and stones, driven into the jungle, and never allowed to return. The village plunges into an orgy of rejoicing, convinced that the plague has been carried bodily away.

Ceremonies much like this still occur in many parts of the world today, among what we "civilized" peoples are pleased to call savage tribes. In the childhood of the human race, far back

before the dawn of history, elaborate rites were carried out, not only to free a community from disease, but to ward off poor harvests, or bad luck of any kind, or to atone for the accumulated sins of all the people.

Through the mists of antiquity, these peoples lived in a world of their own imagining—a simple world of terror and superstition, where events were due, not to natural and traceable causes, but to fearsome spirits that filled the air, the water, or the whole surroundings. Protection against these dark powers became the keynote of their lives. The devils of misfortune must be bought off, sacrificed to, or, if possible, transferred to something tangible and driven away.

Sometimes the process of expelling the evil took place only occasionally, as when some particular curse of famine, pestilence, or crime occurred. With more advanced peoples, the ritual came to be performed at regular intervals, usually once a year. It was often associated with some periodic festival, such as the Roman Saturnalia, the planting season, or Walpurgis Night, when the bad humors of winter were dispelled and the earth burst forth again with all the freshness of spring.

The notion that suffering or guilt could be transferred to some other being or person who would bear it seemed reasonable to the savage mind. Primitive man easily confused the physical and the supernatural. He saw that it was easy, for instance, to shift a load of wood from his own back to another's. So he concluded that it was equally possible to shift the burden of his pains and sorrows.

Often this transfer was to some inanimate object, such as a leafy twig or a clay effigy. In Borneo and other islands of the East Indies, even today, the natives take a small proa, or sailing boat, load it with killed animals and other food, and let it drift away into the ocean. It is supposed to carry off smallpox or other diseases, and to be dangerous to any spot where it may be stranded. The aborigines of China fill a great earthenware jar with stone and metal representing their troubles, bury it in the

ground, and blow it up with a train of gunpowder. The explosion is believed to scatter the disasters and blow them away.

The Original "Scapegoat"

More often, the chosen vehicle by which the troubles of the community were carried off was a living animal. The most familiar of these ceremonies was the ritual of the ancient Hebrews, described in the Book of Leviticus: 16.21-22. On the Day of Atonement, which was the tenth day of the seventh month (roughly, the first week of October), the people of Israel did no work but gathered in penitence and sorrow for a "holy convocation," at which burnt offerings and other sacrifices were made. One live goat was chosen by lot, and the high priest, robed in linen garments, laid both his hands on the goat's head, and confessed over it the iniquities of the children of Israel. The sins of the people having been thus symbolically transferred to the beast, it was taken out into the wilderness and let go.

This animal, called *Azazel*, or *scapegoat* (related to *escape*, from the Latin, meaning "a breaking away from restraint"), thus gave its name to such folkways for all time. Similar rites were performed by the Babylonians, the Hittites, and other ancient peoples.

The scapegoat does not have to be a goat, of course. It may be any domesticated animal. The Garos of Assam sacrifice a monkey or a bamboo rat. The Aymara Indians of Peru load a black llama with the clothes of plague-stricken people, sprinkle it with brandy, and turn it loose in the mountains.

Even man's best friend, the dog, has had his day as a scapegoat. How universal these strange folk habits are is shown by the fact that in Breadalbane, Scotland, it used to be the custom on New Year's Day to take a dog to the door, give him a bit of bread, and drive him out, crying: "Get away, you dog! Whatever death of men or loss of cattle shall happen in this house to the end of this year, may it all light on your head!"

Penance by Proxy

But it is when man himself becomes the scapegoat that the climax of distorted religious sentiment is reached. Victims may range all the way from the most degraded, feeble, or helpless members of the tribe to the most exalted, wealthy, or perfect. Even kings, beautiful young virgins, and persons supposed to be divine were often sacrificed in order to banish the sins and sorrows of their peoples.

The human scapegoat was a feature of many rites in classical antiquity. The ancient Greeks annually performed a ceremony called the "expulsion of hunger." A slave was beaten with branches of the fig tree and driven out of doors with the words: "Out with hunger, and in with wealth and health." When Plutarch was chief magistrate of his native town, Chaeronea, he performed this ceremony at the town hall.

From the Lovers' Leap, a white bluff at the southern end of their island, the Leucadians once a year hurled a criminal into the sea as a public sacrifice to Apollo. The Grecian scapegoat was looked upon as having "purged" the community of its guilt, and hence was called a *pharmakes*. From the same Greek root comes our word *pharmacist*, "one who deals in purgatives." Try that on your druggist some time!

When Marseilles was a Greek colony, it was the custom to maintain a poor man at public expense for a whole year, treating him royally. He was then dressed in holy garments, decked with branches, and stoned to death outside the city walls to avert the plague.

Vicarious human sacrifices were well known among the Aztecs and Mayans in the grand days of their civilizations. They were carried to such an extreme that the decline of these great peoples has been attributed in part to this bloody practice, though wars and pestilence were no doubt the major causes.

Among the Yoruba Negroes of West Africa the custom is still practiced. A human victim, called an *oluwo*, who may be either

a slave or a noble, is annually chosen for sacrifice. For a time, he is well fed and honored. On the appointed day, he is paraded through the streets, daubed with ashes and chalk, while the people lay their hands on him to transfer their guilt. Finally he is taken to the sanctuary and beheaded.

The Power of Custom

When we examine closely these varied examples of the ancient custom of the scapegoat, we find certain elements common to them all. In the first place, it was a religious ritual—a series of acts that had to be carried out and repeated in a prescribed form at regular intervals. It expressed the most sacred beliefs of the tribe.

The guilt and sufferings of every individual were shared by the whole community. Every time someone broke a taboo—a tribal ruling against some prohibited act—he added to the total fund of sin that must be atoned for. Likewise, every time famine, disease, death, loss of crops or cattle, or defeat in war occurred, the community as a whole shared the burden. It made no difference who committed the sin or who suffered the disaster.

So, too, it did not matter who atoned for the sin. But some member of the group had to be chosen—usually by lot—to expiate the sins of all. To him, by a fiction that all accepted, the whole mass of evil was considered transferred. As the community scapegoat, he “took the rap.” He suffered torment, willingly or unwillingly, to save the others from the anger of the gods.

Now, note that the scapegoat, as an individual, was not an object of hatred or scorn. There was nothing personal about the attitude of the community toward him. Although it is true that sometimes a criminal or a weakling was chosen who would soon die anyway, it was just as likely to be a “man-god” or one of the most respected citizens. The victim was in fact often extremely well treated. For a time, he might live in luxury and honor, with special privileges.

In the final act of the drama, the victim was tortured with all

the cruelty the tribe could devise. But all this was done for a well-recognized purpose—to benefit the community—and was considered perfectly proper and just. After it was over, the people felt cleansed and released. In short, the ceremony was to them an outlet for primitive fears and passions—a process clearly understood by modern psychologists.

The skeptic may say: "This is all very well; but everyone knows that these ceremonies were fakes, engineered by clever chiefs and medicine men to get rid of their enemies and keep themselves in power. All this magical hocus-pocus was merely a device to control the superstitious masses for the benefit of a few insiders."

A good deal of self-interest may, of course, have been mixed with primitive magic. There is no real evidence, however, that among savage tribes the leaders themselves did not usually believe in their rituals just as naïvely as their followers. Primitive peoples are gullible because of their limited knowledge of natural science. And no matter how absurd a belief may be to our modern minds, if it is shared by a whole group, the effects are as potent as if it were true.

Trickery Creeps In

To say this, however, is not to deny that primitive customs easily lent themselves to abuses. The practice offered a constant temptation to make scapegoats of unpopular persons or groups. The scapegoats were likely to be honestly chosen when the lot fell upon persons of noble or "divine" origin. But where the choice was made by priestly divination, oracles, or by a small ruling group, or where slaves, criminals, foreigners, or some other defenseless class were the only candidates, it is clear that injustice might creep in. Persons with grudges against their neighbors would probably find ways of denouncing them to the authorities as candidates for scapegoats.

In any event, the history of mankind is full of tragic examples

of all sorts of guilt and evils being ascribed to innocent but unpopular groups or "minorities," who, for one reason or another, seemed different from the rank and file of the community, and thus aroused suspicion, fear, or hatred. Rulers soon found it to their advantage to let these popular prejudices concentrate on the heads of such groups, until widespread persecution resulted. By such means, it was easy to distract the attention of the public from the real shortcomings of the group in power, or to cause the masses to forget their own miseries.

From allowing such persecution to grow unmolested, it was only a short step to stimulating it by subtle propaganda. Pontius Pilate was not the first, but he was one of the shrewdest manipulators of mob psychology. He knew that Jesus was innocent of wrongdoing, but he lacked the courage of his convictions. By yielding to mass prejudice, he removed at one stroke a powerful threat to the stability of Roman authority. In a very real sense, Jesus was a scapegoat for the persistent unrest of the colony of Palestine.

It is not to be maintained that all historic or modern instances of mass persecution are close parallels to the ancient ceremony of the scapegoat. Of course, there are different types of persecution. It usually deals with groups, not individuals, and is not standardized into an official religious rite. It is, as we shall see, largely a scheme incited by powerful leaders for their own selfish purposes. But in the selection of certain classes as the alleged authors or embodiment of all the troubles and evils of a nation, and in the emotional belief of the masses that by doing away with these people they will be freed from their sufferings, organized persecution as we know it today bears a striking resemblance to the ancient practice of the scapegoat. Common usage has, in fact, so broadened the meaning of the word *scapegoat* that it has entered our dictionaries as a synonym for "unjust persecution." It is in this sense that it will be used in the rest of this pamphlet, to give a few high lights in the long history of "man's inhumanity to man."

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

The Blood of the Martyrs

Christians were the commonest targets of persecution in the early days of the Roman Empire. Reasons for this are not hard to find. During the first three centuries after Christ, the Church was engaged in a constant uphill struggle to gain a foothold in the Empire. Christians were "different" in their customs and religion, and were therefore distrusted and suspected of disloyalty. They were largely poor people—slaves or laborers. They held their meetings at night in cellars and secret places.

In times of political and social stress, the Emperors tried to strengthen national unity and to make the official religion of the state the test of "100 per cent Romanism." Members of upstart groups were easy to blame for various crimes. Thus, in 64 A.D., when Rome was destroyed by a great fire, the Emperor Nero was suspected of having set the fire himself. There is no proof of his guilt, but the scandalous Nero did fasten the blame upon the Christians, as a convenient scapegoat, torturing and executing them to turn suspicion from himself.

Under Domitian (A.D. 81 to 96), Christians were persecuted because they refused to worship the Emperor, who had built up a divine cult as a buttress for his regime. In the reign of Trajan, merely being a Christian was a criminal offense, as indicated in Trajan's letters to Pliny (A.D. 112). Suspects were given a chance to renounce their faith, rather than suffer punishment. Later in the second century, the Empire was harassed by pestilence, famine, and earthquake. The Christians were blamed for having drawn down the wrath of the gods, and those who refused to recant were fed to the lions. Even under such enlightened rulers as Hadrian (117 to 138) and Marcus Aurelius (161 to 180), Christians were accused of "hatred of the human race," which meant chiefly disloyalty to the Empire. By this time they were beginning to succeed in converting many Romans.



That the excuse for these persecutions put the Christians in the light of scapegoats may be clearly seen in the writings of the Church Fathers. Tertullian, for instance, in his *Apology* (A.D. 204), written in defense of the faith, spoke out with bitter sarcasm:

“There is no rain: ascribe it to the Christians. If the Tiber rises as high as the city walls, if the Nile does not send its water up over the fields, if there is an earthquake, if there is famine or pestilence, straightway the cry is, ‘Away with the Christians to the lions!’ ”

The climax of the long and fiery ordeal of the Christians came in the reign of Diocletian (284 to 305), who found the Empire in desperate straits from internal dissension and barbarian attacks. When a mysterious fire broke out at the Emperor’s favorite

palace in Nicomedia, it was laid to a conspiracy of the Christians. The terrible persecution that began that day spread throughout the Empire. Christians were imprisoned, tortured, and in some towns massacred *en masse*.

This anti-Christian campaign lasted until the death of the Emperor Galerius, in 311. In succeeding reigns, toleration was granted to the rapidly growing faith. Within a few years, the Emperor Constantine (323 to 337) accepted Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire.

Christians Turn Persecutor

Human nature is unfortunately slow to learn from its own experience. Minority groups that have felt the lash of persecution sometimes escape from their prison of prejudice and increase in number or influence. In such changing circumstances, only too often they, in turn, become intolerant of other unwelcome groups and treat them as scapegoats for their own ills. Pagans have persecuted Christians; Christians have persecuted Jews; Protestants have persecuted Catholics; Catholics have persecuted Freemasons and heretics; whites have persecuted Negroes; employers have persecuted workingmen; Bolsheviks have persecuted capitalists—and all together have persecuted aliens of other races.

As the Christian Church rose to domination of the life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages, it too fell prey to the poison of power. All who differed in the slightest degree from its doctrines or who attempted to throw the light of science into the closed minds of ignorance and superstition became objects of hatred. The heretic was the scapegoat of the Dark Ages because he was believed to be in league with the devil and a trafficker in black magic. The imprisonment, torture, or execution of such men as Galileo, Giordano Bruno, Roger Bacon, and John Huss; the brutality of Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition; the murder of Joan of Arc and the massacre of St. Bartholomew; the burning of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer at the stake in the

days of "Bloody Mary"—these are dark stains upon the pages of a glorious history.

Yet scarcely had the newly liberated Protestant sects won toleration or control in Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, England, and Scotland, when they unleashed upon their former enemies a persecution no less malignant. Catholics, such as Sir Thomas More and Edmund Campion, were executed for alleged treason in England. "No Popery" became the rallying cry against the new scapegoats, and laws were passed in Protestant England that excluded Catholics from Parliament and civil rights. Many of these disability laws persisted until late in the nineteenth century.

Protestants Take Their Turn

As some of the most dogmatic of the Protestant sects—Calvinists and Puritans—comprised the bulk of the settlers who transplanted English culture to the northern colonies of America, it is not surprising that the habits of persecution came with them. Though fleeing from religious intolerance on the part of the Church of England, they had not yet learned that others were as much entitled to "freedom to worship God" as themselves. For over a century, the ministers of New England held power so complete that Church and State were practically identified.

The expulsion from Massachusetts of such non-conformists as Roger Williams, who founded the Baptist denomination in America, and strong-minded Anne Hutchinson, and the hanging of Mary Dyer, a Quaker, on Boston Common, bore many of the earmarks of the scapegoat process. Indeed, the Society of Friends, both in England and America, was bitterly persecuted, for its doctrines of non-resistance and the "inner light" sprang from a serene devotion that few outsiders could understand.

How readily fanaticism finds scapegoats was seen in the brief and hectic hysteria that flared in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. Witchcraft had been feared and punished for centuries among



the superstitious peasants of Europe, and a few “witches” had already been hanged in other New England communities. In Salem, the belief that certain persons were possessed by the devil became as real as infectious disease. When a West Indian Negro servant, Tituba, terrified her big-eyed listeners with the voodoo spells of her ancestors, responsible clergymen such as Cotton Mather swallowed their tales whole. Governor Sir William Phips appointed a special court to try cases of persons accused by several attention-hungry young girls of tormenting them. No one was safe. Before this flame of insanity burnt itself out, nineteen innocent persons had been hanged and one “pressed to death.”

“Popish Plots”

Yet, in spite of many frictions within the multitudinous branches of Protestantism, Catholics have undoubtedly served oftener as

scapegoats for unreasoning prejudice than any other religious group in America. It was natural, perhaps, that the hatred of "Popery" common in seventeenth-century England should be inherited by settlers across the Atlantic. Although there were few Catholics in the colonies, Puritan pulpits thundered against the Pope and the "Romish Church."

Since Lord Calvert, the chartered proprietor of Maryland, was a Catholic, an Act of Toleration was passed in that colony in 1649, guaranteeing religious freedom to all faiths. But later, when Puritans predominated, the Act was repealed. In the other colonies, except Rhode Island, no Catholic could vote or enjoy civil and religious rights. The *New England Primer* and other school-books were frequently illustrated with grotesque pictures of the Pope.

Rumors of "Popish plots" to aid the French were rife during the French and Indian War. Catholics were charged with burning forts and with fomenting Negro-Indian uprisings against the colonial governments. In New York an act was passed confiscating the property of "Jesuits and Popish priests." This wave of anti-Catholic sentiment died down with the Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution, with its guarantee of freedom of worship. Yet the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, in John Adams' administration, were partly inspired by fear of "Papists," and Matthew Lyon, a Catholic editor and member of Congress, was the first to be convicted under the Sedition Act.

A new and more violent wave of anti-Catholic prejudice was ushered in during the 1820's by the beginning of large-scale immigration from Ireland. For the next sixty years, the Irish arrived in increasing numbers, reaching a peak at the time of the great potato famine of 1846. Many of these immigrants were poor and illiterate farmers, fresh from the sod. They answered, however, to a definite need for common labor in the United States, with the rapid growth of cities and railroads. Despite Yankee contempt for them, these Irish immigrants made great contributions to the physical growth of the country.

The Irish "Invasion"

Many Americans of older stocks were alarmed at the "invasion" of the Irish, fearing that they would engulf the native population. Thus developed the first of many "nativist" or anti-foreign movements that have periodically marked American life.

The Irish, concentrating in the worst sections of the Eastern cities, were accused of introducing pauperism, slums, corruption, and crime. They were blamed for unemployment and panics. They were charged with depriving native Americans of jobs and lowering the wage scale. They were denounced as clannish, unassimilable, and half-witted.

This resentment easily became linked with religious bigotry. The American Bible Society accused Catholics of attacking the Bible, since the Roman Church, of course, did not approve any but the Douai version of the Scriptures. When Catholics objected to Protestant religious teaching and Bible reading in the public schools, and attempted to establish their own parochial schools, they were attacked as idol worshipers, bent on the murder of all Protestants. Anti-Catholic publications and societies sprang up to "keep the country safe for Protestant Americanism," such as the Order of United Americans, the United American Mechanics, and the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. Then as now, organizations with subversive and un-American purposes masqueraded under high-sounding patriotic names. It was charged that convents and monasteries were dens of iniquity, that nuns did away with their illegitimate offspring, and that the confessional was an invention of the Devil.

Such propaganda soon inflamed native Americans to direct action against the Catholics. In 1829, mobs attacked the homes of Boston Catholics and stoned them for three days. The Irish section of Charlestown, Massachusetts, was devastated, and in August, 1834, an Ursuline Convent was burned to the ground. Violent riots broke out in Philadelphia and New York from 1835 to 1845.

The ultimate aims of Catholicism were alleged to be the overthrow of the United States Government. It was widely believed that the cellars of Catholic churches were stacked with arms, awaiting an uprising. The Pope, it was rumored, had combined with the despotic monarchs of Europe to seize control of the Mississippi Valley. Military setbacks in the Mexican War were attributed to the desertion of Catholics in the United States forces—a familiar scapegoat charge.



“Know-nothingism”

The political antagonism against the Irish culminated in the early 1850's in the formation of the American or “Know-nothing” Party. (The nickname was derived from its secrecy. When a man was asked whether he belonged to it, he replied: “I know nothing.”) The Party picked up some adherents from the dis-

integrating Whigs and, for a few years, was a force in local elections. Supposed revelations by ex-priests were used to inflame mob sentiment. One of these, Charles Chiniquy, later posed as a confidant of Lincoln, and circulated the story that Lincoln's assassination was part of a Jesuit plot. Another ex-priest advised Protestants to beware of employing Catholic servant girls, lest they turn out to be Jesuit spies. As a result, many Irish were dismissed from their jobs, and want ads appeared reading: "No Irish need apply."

The "Irish question" became an issue in national politics during the elections of 1884, 1888, and 1892. In the large Eastern cities, the Irish were predominantly Democratic in their party allegiance, and had elected many Catholic mayors. The Republicans charged that the Irish were trying to seize control of America. Many historians are convinced that James G. Blaine lost the election of 1884 to Grover Cleveland because an overzealous campaign orator, the Reverend S. D. Burchard, denounced the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." The resulting wave of resentment turned many Catholics to Cleveland, and Blaine lost the crucial electoral vote of New York by 1,149 votes.

At this period middle-class sentiment was aroused because the second generation of Irish Catholics had begun to compete with their Protestant neighbors in the better-paid trades and professions. These economic motives led to the formation, in 1887, of the American Protective Association. The A.P.A. let loose a barrage of propaganda, blaming the Irish for the growth of trusts, for restricted credit, for low farm prices, for the panic of 1893—in short, for every economic ill. It was charged that President Cleveland had a private wire connecting the White House with Cardinal Gibbons' mansion. Eugene V. Debs, socialist leader of the Pullman strike, was characterized as a disguised Jesuit. But the rise of other issues, such as "Bryanism," led to the decline of the A.P.A.

The "Tragic Era"

The Ku Klux Klan has, of course, had two distinct periods of existence in American history—the first after the Civil War, when it was founded (1867) by Confederate veterans to combat secretly the "carpetbag" governments of newly freed Negroes and



Northern adventurers in the Southern states; and the second after the First World War, when a powerful new "nativist" movement spread to all sections of the country in opposition to an alleged menace to American institutions. There was probably no direct connection between the original and the modern forms of the Klan. Yet both appealed to substantially the same groups and motives. Both stood for "white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant supremacy."

Under the changing economic conditions of the First World War days, the revived Klan broadened its field of scapegoats to include all foreigners, Jews, militant labor, and radicals of all descriptions. In the 1920's, the Klan dominated state governments in Indiana and other sections, and played an influential part in national elections. It charged that President Wilson was under the domination of his Catholic Secretary, Tumulty. It was the main issue at the long, disputed Democratic convention of 1924. Prejudice engendered by the Klan helped to defeat Al Smith, a Catholic, when he ran for President in 1928. Although the Klan soon declined, through the exposures of the *New York World* and the good sense of patriotic citizens, religious intolerance still plays an unhappy part in American politics.

THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN

The largest racial minority in the United States is, of course, the Negroes. There are about 12,000,000 of them today—nearly 10 per cent of the total population. The vast majority are descendants of African slaves brought to this country by white traders in the two and a half centuries between 1619, when the first shipload arrived in Virginia, and the Civil War, which was fought largely over the slavery question.

Although they came originally against their will and have been subject to the harsh discriminations of a white man's country, the Negroes are today a permanent factor in American life, as truly native-born in thought and outlook as any of the whites. Their progress—economic, educational, and social—in the seventy-five years since Abraham Lincoln emancipated the slaves is one of the miracles of modern times. In the face of poverty and prejudice, they have made great contributions to America, in agricultural and industrial labor, in domestic service, and notably in the arts of music, the dance, literature, and the stage. Many are successful doctors, lawyers, businessmen, teachers, and even scientists.

The legal status of the Negro has changed sharply since the days of the Dred Scott decision (1857), when the Supreme Court of the United States held that "a Negro possessed no rights which a white man was bound to respect." The basis of racial equality before the law was laid by the three well-known Reconstruction Amendments, ratified shortly after the Civil War. These were the Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibited the practice of slavery; the Fourteenth, which declared all persons born or naturalized in the United States to be citizens, who cannot be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law"; and the Fifteenth, which proclaimed that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

It is well known, however, that Negroes have been subject to many kinds of discrimination—most of them outside the law—not only in the South, where the "color line" is usually supposed to be most sharply drawn, but often in the North, where prejudice may be more subtle but none the less real. The most common forms of discrimination follow.

Restrictions on Voting

Although the Fifteenth Amendment is seldom directly violated, it is evaded in many states by such methods as poll taxes, property qualifications, "grandfather" clauses, arbitrary requirements for reading the Constitution before white election judges, or exclusion from primary elections where one party is dominant.

Residential Segregation

Negro living quarters are restricted to a limited and slumlike locality. Sometimes this is imposed by local ordinances, but more frequently by white public opinion, intimidation, or "gentlemen's agreements" among real estate owners and agents, who refuse to sell or rent to Negroes. The argument made for such segrega-

tion is, of course, that the moving of Negroes into white neighborhoods destroys real estate values. Yet even within segregated areas, Negroes are subjected to unfair discrimination, in that the rentals they are compelled to pay for filthy and dilapidated quarters are often much higher than those for equivalent accommodations elsewhere.

“Jim Crow” Laws

These are laws compelling Negro segregation in schools; on railroads and busses; in theaters, hotels, and restaurants. Laws or practices of this sort, named after an old minstrel song, almost invariably provide separate accommodations, entrances, seats, and so forth, much inferior to those for whites.

Public Funds

Appropriations for Negro institutions and welfare services—particularly schools, hospitals, and the like—are disgracefully low, compared to those for whites. For example, the average annual expenditure per pupil in 1930 was 13 dollars for Negro pupils in Southern states, as against 44 dollars for white pupils in the same states, and 87 dollars in the United States as a whole. In hospital facilities, there is 1 bed available for every 2,000 Negroes, as against one for every 150 of the white population. Such discrimination goes far to explain the poor records of the Negroes in health, mortality, nutrition, literacy, and crime statistics.

Economic Discrimination

Back of most of the Negro's disabilities lies his lack of purchasing power. This may take several forms, but perhaps the commonest is the low cash income of the Negro farmer (typically a share cropper dependent on a white landlord) and the low wages paid him even in jobs comparable to those of whites. The



occupations open to Negroes are largely limited to the servant type and to heavy common labor. The fact that Pullman porters are considered the aristocracy of Negro labor and that well-educated colored men are often found doing the most menial tasks speaks volumes for the handicaps against which they struggle.

In industry, Negroes with mechanical skill can seldom obtain jobs in competition with white labor. In part, this is due to the prejudice of unions, many of which refuse to admit Negroes. In part, it is due to the mistaken belief of industrial managers that Negroes are unreliable workers. The widespread discrimination against Negroes in defense industries has created a great reservoir of neglected man power and low morale, although the Government has, during the present war period, made serious efforts to prevent such discrimination. The President and the

WPB have issued an executive order that employers shall not discriminate against workers in skilled trades on account of race or color. A special committee has been set up to investigate such cases.

In the United States Army Negroes are segregated in special units. Their chances for promotion to the higher ranks of commissioned officers are slight. Until recently the Navy employed Negroes only as mess boys, but it now accepts some as bluejackets. In the Army air force a few Negroes have recently been commissioned as pilots after training at Tuskegee, Alabama. The War Department has adopted a seven-point program for Negroes in the draft army. It maintains separate units, with equal facilities for colored troops. Negroes object to this because they are the sole racial group thus segregated. In general, however, the demand for manpower is slowly breaking down the traditional barriers.

Justice

The treatment of Negroes in criminal procedure and the courts provides an acid test for attitudes of race discrimination. Whatever their natural tendencies to crime, these have been grossly exaggerated by popular rumor and newspaper publicity, and provoked by unfair attacks. The civil rights of Negroes before the law are constantly violated. Charges of rape have frequently been the excuse for mob violence or indictments against Negroes; but when investigated, the majority of such charges have proved groundless. Race riots and the burning of Negro homes have usually been incited by minor irritations, such as the Chicago race riots of 1919, which originated at a beach where both races bathed in close proximity.

Lynching—a peculiarly American institution—is aimed at Negroes in more than 95 per cent of all cases. Although it reached a peak of 235 lynchings in 1892 and has markedly declined since 1920, it often flares up in times of crisis. A responsible commission reported in 1931 that more than half the victims of lynch-

ings were probably innocent, and that less than one fourth were accused of attacking white women. Lynchings occur most frequently in sparsely settled, poverty-stricken areas. Although mob leaders are usually easy to identify, they are seldom convicted or arrested.

Efforts to secure the passage of Federal anti-lynching laws that would penalize the counties in which they occur have always been blocked by Southern Congressmen. The South, jealous of its states' rights, resents Federal interference or Northern defense activities in such cases as those of the "Scottsboro boys." All important Southern leaders are publicly on record as against lynching, and some courageous local officials have prevented lynchings. But the persistence of race violence is due, in the main, to economic competition between the races in the rural Black Belt and in Northern cities where large-scale Negro migrations have occurred in recent years.

Broadly speaking, the Supreme Court has been the chief bulwark of civil liberties for the Negro. In numerous decisions it has declared unconstitutional state laws or local ordinances restricting the voting rights of Negroes, segregating Negro housing, or permitting "Jim Crow" activities. It has held that railroads must furnish "equal accommodations" on Pullman cars for Negro passengers, and that states must supply adequate higher and professional education for Negroes desiring it. It has also frequently overruled the decisions of lower courts in criminal cases on the grounds that Negroes were not admitted to juries, or that trials were influenced by threats of mob violence. Neither the law nor the courts, however, can prevent many kinds of discrimination practiced by private individuals and groups.

But despite all efforts to win fair play for Negroes, the black man is still the chief scapegoat for numerous ills and prejudices. His unequal treatment remains one of the sorest spots in our American life. Removal of discriminations against him is the best answer to the taunt that our democracy is for white men only.

ARE YOU A MASON?

Secret or fraternal orders have sometimes been the pursued as well as the pursuers in the backwaters of history. The Masonic Order, for instance, which has been in existence in England and Scotland for at least 500 years (its origins are believed to be associated with the guilds of stone masons in the Middle Ages) has often been made a scapegoat for alleged conspiracies. In the Latin countries of Europe—especially Italy, France, and Spain—Freemasons have been opposed by the Catholic Church. The modern fascist dictators have also persecuted Freemasonry as an enemy of the totalitarian state.

For a short period in American history, the Masons were the victims of a curious political foray. In 1827, a bricklayer named William Morgan, imprisoned for debt, was removed by a mob from a cell at Canandaigua, New York, and disappeared. He had once been a Mason, and had written a book purporting to reveal Masonic secrets. A corpse was found floating in the Niagara River. It could not be proved to be Morgan's, but the Masons were charged with having murdered him to prevent exposure of their "nefarious secret practices."

At that time Martin Van Buren (later President of the United States) and a group of his aristocratic friends, known as the Albany Regency, monopolized the public offices in New York State. Many of them were Masons. Opposition politicians, led by Thurlow Weed, seized upon the public indignation that followed the Morgan incident and organized an Anti-Masonic Party. Masons were accused of many crimes, and were boycotted and beaten by mobs. Many anti-Masonic societies and newspapers were established.

Although the Anti-Masonic Party did not succeed in ousting the Van Buren machine in New York, it became strong enough to elect a state governor and to run a candidate for the Presidency in 1832 who took thousands of votes from Henry Clay. By 1835, however, the Party began to fade out.

THE JEW AS SCAPEGOAT

Of all minority groups in history, the Jews have probably suffered longest and most bitterly. The Jews in all parts of the world have never in recorded history exceeded 16,000,000 in total numbers. But for more than 1,000 years, they have been the favorite scapegoats of the peoples they lived among. The dispersion of the Jews throughout Europe and, in later centuries, throughout the rest of the world occurred gradually from the time of the Roman conquest of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, when they were evicted from their homeland. It was hastened by the rise of Islam and the Crusades, when colonies of Jews established themselves throughout the Mediterranean world.

Originally, for thousands of years, like most other early tribes, the Jews were an agricultural and sheep-herding people. After they were driven out of Palestine, however, they were forced to take up trade, and tended to settle in closely knit blocs in large cities. Forbidden to own land, they became merchants, money lenders, and purveyors of luxuries, because such wealth was easy to transport or conceal in times of persecution. These forces, combined with the ban of the Catholic Church on usury, tended to make the Jews the bankers of the Middle Ages and to draw upon them the natural hostility of debtors toward creditors everywhere. In the later Roman Empire, they were assigned special areas in the communities. But the system of "ghettos," or walled enclosures, kept locked at night, did not become general until about the fifteenth century.

Beginning with the first Crusade in 1096, Jews in western Europe were often persecuted by Christians because of the presumed guilt of their ancestors in the crucifixion of Christ. While the real motives of their persecutors were religious and economic, this small group was readily made the scapegoat for every crisis and disaster. Over 16,000 Jews were expelled from England in 1290 A.D., and later the Jews were banished from France and Spain.

In the years 1348 to 1350, during the Hundred Years' War, the Black Death—a devastating outbreak of bubonic plague—swept over Europe. More than 25,000,000 people—probably one quarter of the population of Europe—died. We know now that this disease is spread by rats and fleas. The total ignorance of sanitation in fourteenth century Europe was the prime cause of the epidemic. But rumor quickly fastened the responsibility on the Jews, charging that they brought on the scourge by poisoning the wells. Because of their observance of the ancient Mosaic dietary laws, the Jews suffered relatively less from the plague than their neighbors. But this very fact intensified their torture. They were depicted as in league with the Devil to save themselves and spread the disease to Christians. Massacres of Jews took place in France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and other plague-ridden countries.

The enlightenment of the eighteenth century and the spread of principles of equality after the French Revolution greatly softened the barbaric treatment of the Jews. But whenever a crisis arose, reactionary groups led forth the old scapegoat. Thus the depression that followed the Napoleonic Wars was blamed on the Jews; and when the "Holy Alliance" under Metternich clamped down on Europe, all liberal movements were tarred with the brush of "Jewish conspiracy." In the 1890's France was the scene of one of the most spectacular scapegoat episodes in history—the famous Dreyfus case. A Jewish army captain was unjustly convicted of treason, though eventually exonerated after years of struggle. The story of this fight was told in the fine movie on Zola, who was one of the great figures defending Dreyfus.

Russia Invents the Pogrom

The autocratic empire of the Russian Czars was long notorious for the use of "anti-Semitism" as an instrument of ruthless oppression. In that backward feudal regime, the great masses of

illiterate peasants, constituting 85 per cent of the population, were forced to suffer in silence. Any attempt to improve their condition was met with rigorous suppression. Thousands of reformers felt the lash of Cossack knouts or were exiled to Siberia.

To divert attention from the real causes of unrest, the Czar's armies and secret police became expert in stirring up religious prejudice. They incited outbreaks against the Jews known as "pogroms"—systematic, house-to-house searches, beatings, and massacres. These conditions existed for centuries, even under such relatively enlightened monarchs as Peter the Great and Catherine II. Toward the close of Catherine's reign, the French Revolution aroused the fears of all European rulers. Her reactionary counselors induced the Empress to appoint the first of many commissions "to investigate the Jewish problem." In 1791, the government established the "pale of settlement," restricting Jews to unfavorable areas in White Russia, the Ukraine, and Poland. It also forbade Jews to join the merchant and artisan guilds. In the winter of 1824, 20,000 Jewish families of Moghilev and Vitebsk were ruthlessly expelled and left to die on the roads.

Alexander II, who became Czar in 1855, was considered a liberal monarch. He introduced many reforms, including the abolition of serfdom, and lightened Jewish restrictions. But in 1881, he was assassinated by a bomb thrown by revolutionary fanatics. With the accession of Alexander III, supported by the reactionary Pobedonostev, Procurator of the Holy Synod, anti-Jewish laws and pogroms were revived in full force.

Nicholas II, last of the Romanoffs, inaugurated the worst decades in the history of the Russian Jews. "Let everybody know," he proclaimed on his accession in 1894, "that I shall guard the principle of autocracy as firmly and uncompromisingly as it was guarded by my never-to-be-forgotten father." The whole liberal movement was labeled a Jewish conspiracy. The hide-bound Minister of the Interior, Plehve, incited the masses to fresh pogroms. During the Easter holidays of 1903, a well-organized massacre occurred in a Bessarabian province.

The humiliating defeat of the Czar's empire in the Russo-Japanese War led to growing agitation, strikes, and riots. A hunger march to the Winter Palace in 1905, led by Father Gapon, was mowed down in cold blood by the Czar's troops. Although he granted a sham constitution and established a powerless Duma (parliament), Nicholas destroyed the effect of his reforms by new repressive measures. Gangs of ruffians known as the "Black Hundreds" were organized to perpetrate pogroms. In 1911, a notorious "ritual murder" case in Kiev was manufactured by the corrupt clique that surrounded the throne. In this frequent scapegoat device against the Jews, it was charged that a young Christian boy had been kidnaped and his throat cut by Jews, as part of their "secret religious rites." This absurd indictment aroused the Greek Orthodox masses to wholesale slaughter of the Jews.

The real causes of Russian social unrest remained untouched. But the rotten structure persisted until the First World War, when the weakness of the Czarist regime led to its downfall in the Kerensky, and later the Bolshevik, revolutions of 1917.

The brutalities of the Soviets have been directed against other scapegoats—the aristocracy, the priesthood, landowners, and capitalists. A proletariat long accustomed to repression was ripe for communist propaganda against all members of the former ruling classes, no matter how intelligent or conscientious. The lot of Jews has been somewhat lightened by laws against racial discrimination. A small Jewish autonomous state, known as Biro-Bidjan, has been established in eastern Siberia, but few Jewish refugees have been admitted from Central Europe by the Soviet Union. Because of the official policy of atheism, Jews, like other religious groups, have been prevented from the free practice of their religion in Russia.

The charge sometimes heard that the Communist Revolution was incited by Jews is not borne out by the facts. Although many Jews joined the radical movement, hoping to end Jewish persecution, of the original major leaders of the Bolsheviks only

Trotsky was a Jew, and he was later exiled by Stalin. In the present Soviet government, but one Jew holds a top-rank position.

The Nazi's Number One Scapegoat

Anti-Semitism has been carried to a pitch of cruelty and ingenuity unmatched in human history by the National Socialist Party of Germany. The Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern Empires, and the patchwork countries of the Balkans, were already fertile soil for religious antagonisms. But after the eighteenth century Jews were treated with some tolerance in Germany. Many Jewish families became thoroughly Germanized in the course of centuries. They intermarried with Christians and attained high positions in business, the arts, professions, and government. The names of Rothschild, Mendelssohn, Heine, Sudermann, Koch, Ehrlich, Haber, Einstein, Rathenau, and others are evidence enough.

The economic crises of the 1870's brought a revival of anti-Jewish propaganda. Heinrich von Treitschke, the Prussian historian, coined the slogan, "The Jews are our misfortune," which later was adopted by the Nazi Streicher in his obscene publication, *Der Stuermer*. In 1879 Adolf Stoecker, chaplain to the Kaiser, formed the Christian Socialist Workers Party, with the avowed aim of combating the Jews. But the Germans forgot their troubles in the rapid industrial expansion of Germany after the Franco-Prussian War. Thousands of Jews served in the German Army during the First World War. After the collapse of the Central Powers, Jews occupied many positions of trust under the democratic Weimar Republic.

What made Adolf Hitler the world's most fanatical hater of Jews? Left an orphan at nineteen, after a joyless childhood in provincial Austrian towns, he lived a miserable and frustrated existence in Vienna, as he describes in *Mein Kampf*. Refused admission to the Academy of Arts for lack of artistic ability, he did manual labor, but would not join a union. He begged on the

streets, slept in flophouses, and earned a precarious living as a draftsman. He seems to have felt that the Jews were somehow responsible for his lack of success.

A fervid admirer of all things German, Hitler hated the culture of Vienna, and insisted that Judaism was the source of all the worst tendencies of the modern world. Leaving Austria for Munich in 1913, Hitler was overjoyed when the First World War broke out and Germany, as he thought, could attain its "place in the sun."

The defeat of the Central Powers was a terrible blow to Hitler's pride of "race." He imagined the Jews at work as "enemies" of Germany, and determined to wipe out all "Jews and Marxists," and restore Germany to its former greatness. "I decided to become a politician," he wrote of this turning point of his life.

That Hitler soon found his anti-Jewish campaign a shrewd device for gaining power is clear from his own statements. Hermann Rauschnig, once a Nazi supporter, quotes Hitler, in *The Voice of Destruction*, as telling his cronies:

"My Jews are a valuable hostage given to me by the democracies. Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an indispensable medium for the extension of our political campaign. You will see how little time we shall need in order to upset the ideas . . . of the whole world, simply and purely by attacking Judaism."

How Hitler built the National Socialist Party from an obscure group of half a dozen zealots in the back room of a Munich café to the absolute mastery of the Reich in fourteen years is a familiar story. Here we are concerned only with the main methods of his propaganda.

The aftermath of the First World War had a shattering effect on the German people. Saddled with the burden of reparation payments imposed by the Allies, humiliated by the "sole war guilt" charged against them in the Treaty of Versailles, stripped of their colonies and one eighth of their European territory, and

starved by the British blockade, the Germans were completely demoralized. Four years later France invaded the Ruhr, and the great inflation destroyed the savings of millions of middle-class families.

To explain all these misfortunes, Hitler and his Nazis found the Jews a simple scapegoat, flattering to the national pride. They argued that Germany did not lose the war, because the Army had been "stabbed in the back" by socialists, pacifists, and Jews (alleged to be identical terms). They charged that Jews were dominant in the government of the new republic. They blamed the acute sufferings of the inflation period on "Jewish exploiters." The Dawes Plan and the Young Plan for reparation payments were attributed to "Jewish international bankers" (a phrase that has been used in many countries, including America, as a stock denunciation). The world depression of 1929, which led to the collapse of the German economic structure, was given the same glib explanation.

Although there were in 1932 fewer than 600,000 Jews in a total German population of 67,000,000, the Nazis falsely charged that they held most of the better-paid jobs; owned the large industries; charged extortionate interest; and monopolized the professions of law, medicine, and teaching. Some Jews, of course, were wealthy; others were Communists. But although the majority were neither, the Nazis identified them all as either "capitalists" or "Marxists," and therefore the authors of all Germany's ills. Thus the German people, and particularly the impoverished middle classes, were gradually, by constant repetition, convinced that the Jews were their chief enemies.

The myth of racial purity embodied in Hitler's creed was not his own invention. It was merely a crude form of certain shop-worn pseudo-scientific theories. To Hitler, the world is a merciless battleground. Only the "highest and purest" blood deserves to win this struggle. And in the conflict of peoples, nature has designed one—the "Aryan race"—to be the chief standard-bearer of culture. These are the blond, blue-eyed Germans, at the oppo-

site end of the scale from the "apelike Negro" and the "dirty, treacherous, Oriental Jew." Germany must keep its "Aryan" stock free from pollution by inferior races, and will thus become a "master race," fit to conquer the world and rule all others as slaves.



To modern science, *Aryan*, of course, is a meaningless term, having nothing to do with blood, physical appearance, or mental capacity, but denoting merely a group of languages. The leading scholars of biology and anthropology consider the Nazi race theories nonsense. But they serve well enough to influence ignorant and prejudiced people.

What the Nazis have done to the Jews is a record so unbelievably bestial that the ordinary easygoing American finds it hard not to think it exaggerated. Beginning in the first days of

Hitler's power, with a "national boycott" of Jews, as punishment for "lies and atrocity stories about Germany," the treatment of these helpless scapegoats has grown progressively worse. All Jewish stores were closed by Storm troopers, and signs painted on them, "Don't buy from Jews." Jewish properties were sacked and looted. No matter how old or cultured they were, Jews were roughly handled, marched through the streets with insulting placards on their backs, or forced to scrub pavements on their knees. Thousands of Jews were seized and thrown into concentration camps—that most fiendish of Nazi inventions—along with Communists, Social Democrats, and religious leaders, both Catholic and Protestant.

Under the so-called "Nuremberg laws," which were adopted early in the Nazi regime, "non-Aryans" include not only full-blooded Jews but any person one of whose parents or grandparents is a Jew, or who is married to a Jew. "Non-Aryans" have no civil rights in Germany. They cannot vote or hold office. They cannot practice law or medicine. They cannot attend universities or higher schools. They cannot work for newspapers, the movies, or radio. They are systematically forced out of business, and their positions given to Aryans. They can obtain few jobs, even at common labor. They are required to register their little remaining property, and most of it has been confiscated.

The Nazis have revived the ghetto, and compel Jews to remain within certain slum areas. Jews cannot buy food, even when they have money, except for two hours in the afternoon, when practically everything has been sold. They cannot attend movies or use public swimming pools or playgrounds. In streetcars and in parks marked benches are reserved for them. All Jews above the age of six are compelled to wear yellow badges with the six-point star of David.

This relentless pressure to deprive Jews of the means of living has been called a "cold pogrom." It is the definite aim of the government to destroy the Jews as a people or to compel them to emigrate. But the officials put impossible obstacles in their way

—endless red tape in obtaining passports and visas—and strip them of practically all cash. More than half the Jews in Germany have died or been forced into exile since 1933.

In November, 1938, in reprisal for the murder of a German diplomat in Paris by a young Jew, aroused by news of the torture of his parents in Germany, the Nazis let loose the worst persecution of modern times. They burned and looted Jewish property, beating and killing, and imposed a fine of a billion marks on all remaining Jews. After the conquest of Poland, several hundred thousand Jews from Czechoslovakia and eastern Germany were deported like cattle, without means of subsistence, and dumped in a small area in southern Poland, where three million Polish Jews were already starving. Throughout the conquered or occupied nations of Europe—fascist Italy, Vichy France, Holland, and the Balkans—Germany has forced the adoption of anti-Semitic laws and spread the epidemic of hate, relying on the old scapegoat trick to provide an outlet for the pent-up grievances of the conquered peoples.

AMERICA: "MELTING POT" OR PATCHWORK?

America today is, as everyone knows, a mosaic of scores of peoples. Of course, the English and Scotch-Irish formed the basic stock and set the tone, the language, and the main institutions of our culture. But even as early as the seventeenth century, large infusions of Spanish, Dutch, French, Swedish, and Germans had set their mark on many sections. Later arrivals of Irish, Norwegians, Negroes, and innumerable others contributed to the variegated patchwork. The United States has always been a country of many minorities; in fact, no one but the Indians can claim that his ancestors were not immigrants to these shores within twelve generations.

Even before the Revolution, Americans of the older colonial stocks viewed latecomers with alarm. We have seen how the

Irish Catholics became the chief scapegoats of the period from 1830 to 1890. But in the late decades of the century, a new type of immigration appeared, stemming from southern and eastern Europe. Thousands of Italians, Portuguese, Austrians, Hungarians, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Greeks, Czechs, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Poles, and Russians fled from autocratic tyranny or sought wider economic opportunities. Later still, French Canadians, Mexicans, and many Orientals came in sectional migrations. The great maw of America's new heavy industries, railroads, and construction works demanded an endless supply of labor.

Immigration laws were lax; and consular officials, exercising no selection beyond the seas, scattered visas with a lavish hand. Siren tales of the wealth of America, its easy jobs and golden streets, trickled back to Europe, reinforcing the glamorous handbills of steamship agents. And when the poor peasantry of Europe poured in through Ellis Island, they were often abused and swindled by racketeers and labor bosses who preyed upon their ignorance and illiteracy.

Thus the number of aliens admitted rose sharply from a few thousand a year in the 1820's until the influx reached its peak in the decade before the First World War, when more than 1,000,000 immigrants were admitted in each of six years. After the war, the tide never recovered its former flood.

For years, groups in the United States agitated for measures to restrict immigration. A Chinese exclusion law was passed in 1882. The entry of laborers under contract was prohibited. A small head tax was imposed on each immigrant; and the Federal inspection service was improved to eliminate paupers, criminals, the insane, and other undesirable classes. Steamship companies were made responsible for the return of rejected immigrants. A Congressional committee, in 1911, spent nearly \$1,000,000 investigating immigration and published forty volumes of reports on the subject. In 1917, a law was passed requiring all immigrants to be able to read in some language.

Narrowing the Nozzle

Finally, in 1921, the first quota law was enacted, which restricted immigrants to fixed annual quotas, based on a percentage of the number of persons of each nationality who lived in the United States in 1910 (later changed to 1890). The composition of the population at these censuses gave more leeway for immigrants of the "desirable" nationalities of northwestern Europe. The law was revised and strengthened in 1924 and 1929. At present, the quotas for countries of "national origin" permit a total of 153,000 aliens to enter each year, with the largest quotas for Great Britain (65,000), Germany (27,000), and Ireland (17,000). The influx from southern and eastern Europe is sharply limited. "Non-quota" classes permitted to enter include unmarried children of aliens under eighteen years, wives of American citizens, ministers, professors, and students. Under the new quota legislation, immigration has never exceeded 100,000 in any one year, and frequently has fallen below 50,000. In the entire decade since 1931, less than half as many have entered as in the peak year of 1907. Moreover, in the 10 years prior to the present war, more foreigners left the country than entered it.

For more than a century, America was known throughout the world as the haven of the oppressed and the refuge of those seeking social and economic freedom. On the base of the Statue of Liberty, in New York Harbor, was inscribed the generous invitation: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free." In that period more than 37,000,000 immigrants entered the United States. They were welcomed because a supply of cheap and abundant common labor was an asset at that time. And the more recent change of heart toward the alien has paralleled to a large extent the shrinking of economic opportunity and the rise of unemployment.

Year by year, the great majority of immigrants took out naturalization papers. Their children, born on this soil, automatically became citizens. With the sharp restriction of immigra-

tion since 1924 and the natural death of older people, the number of non-naturalized foreign-born persons has steadily dropped. Today, as shown by the results of the Registration Law of 1940, the total number of aliens in the country (including those that have taken out first papers) is only 4,765,971—about 3.5 per cent of the population; whereas before 1930 it was more than 5 per cent.



Yet, at the very moment when the problem of the foreign-born seems well on the way to solving itself, suspicion and prejudice against the alien has shown a marked increase. The foreign-born in recent years seem in a fair way to become the champion scapegoats of America's modern crisis. The old objections to immigrants—namely, that they are the chief source of pauperism and crime, and are incapable of being assimilated to American ways—

have been revived in full force. In addition, they are held responsible for importing radical foreign "isms." They are said to furnish most of the relief cases. Indeed, the alien has become in popular opinion the common carrier, the "Typhoid Mary," of all the economic and social ailments of the nation.

This wave of anti-foreign feeling has been aggravated by false rumors of a tremendous influx of refugees from European countries conquered by Nazi Germany. Since most of them are fleeing from Hitler's tyranny, naturally many of them are Jews, although there are also many Protestants and Catholics. Fantastic tales are told of "millions" of refugees entering the country illegally, or being smuggled across the Mexican and Canadian borders. Large department stores are accused in whispering campaigns of dismissing their regular employees and hiring refugees. Physicians and college professors are said to be flooding the country, and twenty-six states have refused graduates of foreign medical schools for admission to practice.

The Anti-foreign Drive

To meet this alleged "alien menace," native fascist groups—such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, and the Christian Front—have redoubled their agitation against the foreign-born. Professional patriots—in and out of Congress—have raised the "racial" issue and demanded stringent legislative curbs on aliens. More than seventy bills discriminating against aliens were introduced in the Seventy-sixth Congress. Some of them demand deportation of all non-quota immigrants; others, the imprisonment of deportable aliens in concentration camps, without trial; still others, the complete stoppage of immigration. Many of these bills, if enacted, would undoubtedly be declared unconstitutional in the courts. They violate the civil rights of persons who have committed no crime. Discrimination against aliens on relief rolls and by private industry and labor unions has also been common.

A careful study of the facts behind the alien situation reveals

no valid ground for this hysteria. In no year since 1930 has the number of aliens admitted from Germany exceeded the quota of 27,370 fixed by law, plus the quotas previously admissible from such German-occupied countries as Austria and Czechoslovakia. The best available estimates indicate that the total number of refugees from Nazi-controlled countries admitted to the United States in the last eight years does not exceed 200,000.

The reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and local police records agree that the crime rate among aliens in all major offenses—including murder, robbery, rape, and fraud—is lower than among native-born citizens, in a ratio of approximately one to three. In fact, the states showing the highest crime rates are those with the lowest percentage of foreign-born. Moreover, the states having the greatest concentration of foreign-born actually rank highest in per capita income, newspaper circulation, and radio ownership, and lowest in illiteracy.

As to the economic liability of refugees, the weight of evidence seems to show that they create more jobs than they take. Many refugees have brought in some capital and established businesses requiring specialized skills not in competition with any previously existing in America. The ratio of physicians to the population is steadily declining. No alien is admitted without adequate financial guarantees that he will not become a public charge, furnished by responsible citizens or agencies. Charges that refugees have been given jobs at the expense of citizens, upon investigation, have regularly proved mere moonshine and hearsay.

In the present war atmosphere marked by many clear cases of sabotage and subversive activities by agents of foreign governments, it is natural that patriotic citizens should be concerned about possible "fifth columnists." Such vigilance is plainly necessary with the lesson of Europe's democracies before our eyes. There are, however, official agencies—such as the F.B.I.—giving constant attention to these problems. The responsible citizen will report all suspicious matters to the proper authorities.

When the German, Italian, and Japanese governments are so

obviously hostile to democracy, there is danger that American citizens may jump to conclusions regarding all persons in America of such names or origin. This state of mind may create grave injustice. Actual members of the Bund and other fascist organizations are few in number. The great majority of German-Americans, Italian-Americans, and Japanese born in the United States are loyal to our institutions, and by no means in sympathy with the Axis aggressors. In this, as with all other minorities, we should learn to treat each person on his own merit and assume his innocence until proved guilty.



LABOR VERSUS CAPITAL

The catalogue of unpopular groups that have served as scapegoats in time of trouble would not be complete if it were confined to racial and religious minorities. Full as these conflicts are of the dynamite of deep-seated emotions, the economic divisions of society have often led to equally unreasoning prejudices. The rich, in various times and places, have been the object of hatred on the part of "have-not" groups. The classes that, through their ownership of land, capital, and resources, control the means of production, and thus enjoy more than the average share of wealth and luxury, are naturally held responsible by resentful workers for low wages, poverty, and general suffering.

In every social revolution landlords, aristocrats, and later the merchants and manufacturers have been called "enemies of the people," and often mobbed or despoiled of their goods by the hot-headed proletariat. The "Reign of Terror" in the French Revolution, like similar waves of violence in other upheavals, was directed against a comparatively small group of scapegoats—the wealthy nobles and the court, whose debauchery and waste daily aroused the indignation of the poor.

It is obvious, however, that there are two sides to this business. These occasional periods of revolt merely punctuated much longer "normal" periods in which the masses of peasants and workers suffered more or less continuous privation and injustices. Much of this was not conscious persecution on the part of the upper classes; but frequently the submerged groups became scapegoats in turn for the aristocracy and the military.

With the rise of socialist movements in the nineteenth century, spurred on by Marx, Engels, and other leaders, class hatred became a fixed doctrine, systematically organized as the mainspring of revolutionary action. The Industrial Revolution had created entire new groups of scapegoats. Capitalists as a class were no more naturally cruel than other people, but they were bound by economic habits, and calloused to suffering they themselves had

not experienced. A strange twist was given the industrial conflict when groups of English workers, known as Luddites, rioted against the introduction of new weaving and spinning machines in the early 1800's. They made the machines the scapegoats for the loss of their jobs, and deliberately wrecked or destroyed them. Technological unemployment has been with us ever since, and has often led to unreasonable demands for the abolishing of invention.

How easy it is for human beings, deprived of normal comforts and blinded by hatred, to fasten upon a whole class as the authors of their sufferings is clearly seen in Soviet Russia. There, in the early days of the Revolution, any one belonging to the former aristocracy, the priesthood, or the owning classes was automatically labeled an exploiter, deprived of civil rights, and hounded to death or exile. In a totalitarian state, whether fascist or communist, the complete government control of propaganda makes it easy to turn public opinion against any scapegoat selected by the leaders.

Main Street versus Wall Street

In America, where rebellion was formerly commoner in farming than in industrial areas, there has been a long tradition of hostility between the agricultural regions and the city financial centers. The courts are accustomed to uphold property rights and the sanctity of contracts. Thus those who control credit and lend money on mortgages are often heartily disliked by farmers, whose cash income is cut by low farm prices and who, as a result, are hard put to it to meet fixed obligations for interest, taxes, and mortgage payments. This conflict has been at the bottom of many issues in American politics—for example, the Greenback movement in the 1870's, for a plentiful supply of paper money; the Populist Party, which ran strong Presidential candidates in the 1890's; Bryan, with his free silver campaign and other inflationary demands against the "hard-money" advocates of the

gold standard. In the 1880's, the Granger agitation swept the farm states, demanding Federal regulation of railroads, which, at that time, charged exorbitant freight rates to farmers.

All of these groups found their natural scapegoats in the big banks, railroad magnates, wheat pits, and stock exchanges of New York and Chicago, which, through their network of subsidiaries, drained off the productive profits of the country. Thus "Wall Street" became a synonym to the farmer and the small-town merchant for economic chicanery.

This hostility broke out in direct action during the great depression. For several years after the crash of 1929, bankers were the most unpopular characters in the national drama. They were generally blamed for the economic mess into which we had fallen. As the depression deepened in the farm belt, enraged farmers organized "farm holidays." They dumped milk trucks on the highway and prevented produce from being shipped. When banks and insurance companies, which held large numbers of farm mortgages, tried to foreclose on owners unable to pay, neighboring farmers banded together to prevent the loss. Auctions were held at which the crowd refused to bid, allowing the owner to buy back his land at a ridiculously low price. The farmers strung up nooses and threatened to hang their scapegoats—the company agents from the East and even local judges who had denied more lenient terms to the mortgagors.

Labor's Upward Struggle

Union labor in America has had many ups and downs in public estimation. Its slow march toward full recognition of the right of collective bargaining has been hampered by fears among middle-class people of radicalism and labor dictatorship. Militant labor leaders and movements, from the Knights of Labor to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, have incurred this distrust. The legal establishment of unions under the New Deal was accepted with reluctance by business executives, and is still blamed

for many national evils. Unions have been opposed by every means from "yellow dog" contracts to company spies and tear gas. At the same time, some irresponsible and racketeering labor leaders have brought upon all labor the condemnation of thoughtful citizens for their disregard of the public interest.

In such a period as the present, when public emotion runs high under the pressure of war production, there is danger that *legitimate* labor activities may become a scapegoat for many economic problems, real or imaginary. Likewise, conscientious liberal citizens, whose only aim is to prevent social injustices and preserve the civil liberties of democracy, are often lumped indiscriminately with unscrupulous agitators and persecuted as "fifth columnists."

In strike situations, where mass picketing occurs and feelings are strong on both sides, violence is likely to result at times; but frequently, in newspaper accounts and newsreels, it is attributed solely to labor. In the past the courts have seldom upheld labor in strike cases and have been prone to give blanket injunctions to employers against union activities. Police action and armed troops have been frequently called in for the protection of employers' property and of strike-breaking workers who have been brought into the plant.

A willingness on the part of the public to treat each strike, every individual labor representative, and every employer on their own merits would go far to prevent this sort of scapegoatism from becoming a general state of mind at a time of national emergency. The appointment of the national War Labor Board, and the agreement of representatives of labor and industry on a program of no strikes and arbitration of all defense labor disputes should contribute to a more reasonable atmosphere.

SUMMING UP

We have made a hasty survey of the idea and the practice of using scapegoats in history, from their manifestations in the customs of primitive peoples to their use in modern times as a device, conscious or unconscious, for gaining political or economic advantage. What lessons does this record have for us as citizens of the world's greatest democracy today?

1. It seems clear that the scapegoat idea started as a genuine belief in the power of ritual and magic, without prejudice against the individuals chosen as victims. Superstition once ruled the lives of high and low alike.

2. But, except in a few surviving remote and savage tribes, the custom has long since passed out of the stage of religious worship, and has become an everyday method used by dictators, propagandists, and demagogues with hidden axes to grind.

3. These power politicians must have their "stooges." They cannot succeed in their designs unless they can appeal to certain widespread prejudices already latent in large groups of people, and thus channel these destructive forces toward their own self-seeking ends.

4. In truly civilized societies, where the rights and dignity of the individual are respected and economic opportunity is open to all according to their ability—in short, in a working democracy—these fears and hatreds have little to feed upon. They are dissolved by the forces of political freedom, universal education, and social welfare. Nothing is more undemocratic than hatred of other groups merely because they are somewhat different from our own. To condemn a whole class for the faults of one or two individuals is a sign of stupidity—or of knavery.

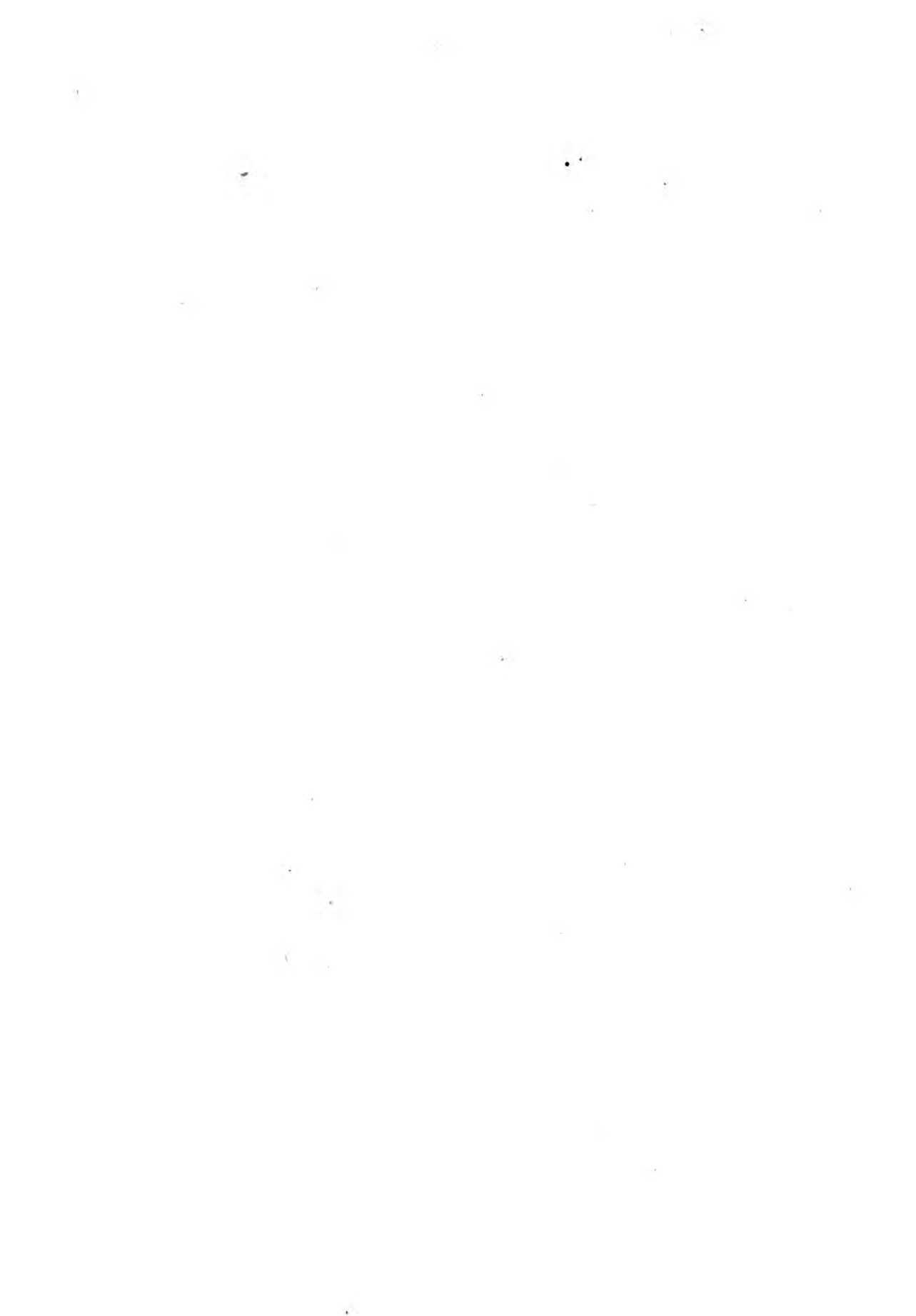
5. Likewise, when the religion of the people is spiritually vital, prejudices against minorities do not easily take root. The concept of a scapegoat selected from weak and defenseless groups for cruel and unjust treatment violates the whole ethical code of Christianity: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." A

religion whose foundation stones are the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man must inevitably contradict any scheme of things that divides mankind into permanently "superior" or "inferior" groups, mutually hostile. The greatest religious leaders of all faiths have, in fact, opposed these tendencies to set one race or class against another. Pope Pius XII, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the heads of the Protestant communions in America, and the chief rabbis of Judaism have all condemned racial and religious prejudice in outspoken and strikingly similar language.

6. The scapegoats of history have suffered tragic injustice, but persecution has never destroyed them. But the bad effects of intolerance upon the intolerant themselves have been evident from Nero to Hitler. Mental specialists who have studied these subjects have found that extreme intolerance has a destructive effect on the mind, and often results in a condition similar to some forms of insanity. It undermines the personality and even physical health; it weakens the ability to enjoy normal life. In the long run, the hater is more to be pitied than the hated.

7. Every normal person resents being "used" by others for selfish purposes. If he knows what is going on, he objects to being tricked into helping carry out plans that do not really benefit himself, but only the propagandist who has deceived him. There are many ways of poisoning the public mind against some scapegoat group, especially when the modern press, radio, and movies are controlled by dictatorial governments or "high-pressure salesmen" for special interests. But behind them you can almost always smell a fraud put over by some "master mind" for his own advantage.

In the free atmosphere of America, such vicious intrigue can never take deep root. Americans don't like to be suckers.



APPENDIX

I. QUESTIONS OF FACT AND INTERPRETATION

1. What seem to be the outstanding characteristics of the scapegoat as a ceremonial custom?
2. Who selected the scapegoats, and how?
3. How many different kinds of objects or living beings can you name that have served as scapegoats in these customs?
4. List as many different sections or countries of the world as you can where scapegoat customs have existed. How do you explain the similarity of these customs in widely separated regions?
5. Do you see any difference between the attitudes and motives of the people and those of their leaders with regard to this practice?
6. What is a superstition? Give some ancient and some modern examples. Why do you think they have such a strong hold on people?
7. Why was the Christian Church made a scapegoat in the early Roman Empire? What different kinds of evils were charged against the Christians?
8. Does martyrdom strengthen a cause or a minority group? If so, how? Why should any one oppose outbreaks of persecution?
9. What is the difference between a race and a nation?
10. What does "Aryan" mean as used by the Nazis? What does it mean in the scientific sense?
11. What is a minority group? Name examples in America. How do minorities come to exist?
12. What religious groups in America have been objects of discrimination or persecution? Compare the popular attitude toward "Jehovah's Witnesses" today with that of the Romans toward the early Christians.
13. Do you believe a Catholic could be elected President of the United States? A Jew? Why has the Presidency been apparently closed to them, although representatives of both groups have been elected governors and members of Congress, and appointed to the highest courts?
14. Christian leaders call the United States a "Christian country," although no religion is established by law. What does "freedom of worship" mean in our American system?
15. What is "nativism"? Is nativism characteristic of fascism? Of communism? Of democracy?

16. What is a "ghetto"? What racial or national groups have been victims of segregation in modern times? How far is this an official or legal matter, and how far is it due to voluntary clannishness?

17. Distinguish between political democracy, economic democracy, and social democracy. To what degree is each of them realized in the United States?

18. Does "social equality" imply intermarriage of races? If not, what points do you think a reasonable social equality includes?

19. How has anti-Semitism helped Hitler and the Nazis to gain and keep power? Why is it a common weapon of all fascist movements? If anti-Semitism were eliminated, could Nazism be justified on the basis of its other policies and accomplishments in Germany?

20. America has long been known as a haven for oppressed peoples. Does this attitude still hold true for refugees from persecution today? Why or why not?

II. ACTIVITIES FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1. At the beginning of your study of this booklet, make a chart such as the following and place a cross in the various columns for each row, according to your feelings. Say to yourself: "I would willingly admit members of each racial, nationality, or religious group (as a class, and not the best nor the worst members of it I have known) to one or more of the relationships mentioned." (Note that crosses may be placed in any or all of the six columns for each group.)

a. To citizenship in the U. S.	b. To my church as full members	c. To my street where I live as neighbors	d. To my school as pupils	e. To my home as personal friends	f. To close kinship by marriage
--------------------------------------	--	---	---------------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

Armenians
 Brazilians
 Buddhists
 Canadians
 Catholics
 Chinese

(Add other names to column, such as: Czechs, English, Episcopalians, French, Germans, Hindus, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews, Methodists, Mexicans, Mormons, Negroes, Quakers, Russians, Swedes, Turks, Unitarians.)

Indicate the nationalities of your father.....;
 mother.....; your religious connection.....

Repeat this chart at the end of your study of this booklet. Has there been any change in the placement of your check marks? Can you tell why?

2. Make "pie charts" based on United States Census figures for 1940, if available for your community, showing the following facts:

a. Number and percentage distribution of population by countries of national origin—i.e., persons born in the United States, the United Kingdom, Eire, Germany, Canada, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Mexico, etc. Make a similar chart for the United States population as a whole, and compare your community with it.

b. Number and percentage distribution of population of your town by birth as follows: native-born of native parentage; native-born of foreign parentage; foreign-born.

c. Number and percentage distribution of your town by race—i.e., white, Negro, and other (Oriental, Indian, etc.).

d. Number and percentage distribution of your town by religious faith—i.e., Protestant, Catholic, Jewish.

3. If your town has definite areas where certain racial or national groups are concentrated, make a spot map of the community showing roughly the location of such groups—i.e., Italian, Norwegian, Lithuanian, Negro, Portuguese, Chinese, etc. What advantages or disadvantages are there in such groupings?

Take a trip to some of these areas, for example, "Little Italy," the Black Belt, etc. Visit as many as possible of the institutions, such as stores, churches, schools, restaurants, newspapers, etc., run by or serving these special groups. Talk with some people in these places, and learn some of their customs and habits.

4. Draw a map of the United States showing areas where racial or nationality groups have congregated—i.e., Norwegians and Finns in Minnesota, Dutch in Michigan, French Canadians in New England, Mexicans in Texas and New Mexico, Japanese in California. Indicate roughly what these peoples do for a living.

Draw a map of the United States, using three different shadings on the states, showing: (a) Less than 1 per cent of alien population; (b) from 1 to 10 per cent; (c) over 10 per cent. How many states are in each class? (Use Department of Justice reports based on United States registration of aliens.)

5. Make a list of famous foreign-born persons in the United States

(historical as well as present) who have made special contributions to our life and culture, and show briefly what they have done—e.g.:

- Michael Pupin (Yugoslav), electrical and radio inventions.
- Hideyo Noguchi (Japanese), yellow fever control and bacteriology.
- Carl Schurz (German), Civil War general and statesman.
- William S. Knudsen (Dane), automobiles, OPM.
- Joseph Pulitzer (Hungarian Jew), journalism.
- Victor Herbert (Irish), composer.
- Jascha Heifetz (Russian Jew), violinist.
- Eliel Saarinen (Finn), architect.
- Angelo Patri (Italian), educator.

Make a similar list for Negroes—e.g.:

- W. C. Handy, blues composer.
- Marian Anderson, singer.
- Paul Robeson, actor.
- Booker T. Washington, educator.
- Paul Lawrence Dunbar, poet.
- George W. Carver, scientist.

Find others for each nationality and for other groups not mentioned.

6. From what peoples have we received: (a) our religious heritage; (b) our language; (c) our architecture; (d) our legal system; (e) our industrial methods? If these institutions are derived from more than one source, list several in the order of what you think is their contributing importance.

Make a list of several important basic inventions (e.g., the alphabet, printing, the calendar, paper making, navigation by compass, the telescope, smelting metals, gunpowder, etc.). Find out, if possible, in what countries or peoples the earliest practical use of these was made.

7. List all the foods your family eats at the three meals of one day, and indicate the origin of each, if imported. For example:

- Bananas (Central America)
- Cheese (Switzerland, Holland, etc.)
- Coffee (Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica)
- Olive oil (Italy and Spain)

Sugar (Cuba, Philippines)
 Herring (Norway)
 Currants (Greece)
 Cloves (Zanzibar, British East Africa)
 Chocolate (Mexico, South America)

8. Hold a party or series of parties for young people of your school or neighborhood, inviting as many as possible of foreign birth or foreign parentage. Ask them to bring their native costumes, if possible. Ask them to sing folk songs in their languages, describe holiday customs of their peoples, and dance any characteristic native dances they know. Get them to teach you their games and songs. Show them similar unique features of your own American background.

9. Arrange through your General Organization or Student Government, in co-operation with your Principal, to hold a series of assembly programs, one for each of several nationalities. Invite some representatives of each group to play, sing, and dance. Invite some prominent adult of the nationality in question to speak briefly on his people and their traditions, or on his personal experiences in this country.

10. People from Scotland dislike being called "Scotch." They prefer the term "Scots" or "Scottish." You might start a list of pet dislikes of other peoples. Some Pennsylvania Germans dislike being called "Pennsylvania Dutch." Why? Most culture groups have some common name or phrase applied to them that have become "fighting words." Or, they are often alleged to have unpleasant customs or characteristics.

11. Here is a list of common statements containing fallacies often heard about minority groups:

- a. All Scotchmen are stingy.
- b. Most of our labor troubles are caused by foreign-born agitators.
- c. Refugees are taking the good jobs away from native Americans.
- d. The Jews own the press, radio, and movies; they control the Government.
- e. The depression was caused by the international bankers.
- f. Negroes are an inferior race.
- g. Conscientious objectors to war are yellow; they're afraid to fight.
- h. Crime and gangsterism are caused by Italians and other foreigners.

- i. Catholics can't be good citizens; they have sworn allegiance to a foreign potentate.
- j. Anyone who wants to work can always get a job.

Analyze the above statements in detail. Give the answer you would make to each of them if you were talking with somebody who used them. What others can you think of that you have overheard?

12. Form three committees: (a) Radio Committee; (b) Motion Picture Committee; (c) Newspaper Committee. Assign to each committee the responsibility of paying close attention for two weeks to the field assigned to them, dividing the work among their members as most convenient. For example, members of the Radio Committee are to listen to all commentators and discussion, speech, and dramatic programs from major networks and local stations during that period. The Movie Committee is to see at least five current films during that period. The Newspaper Committee is to read thoroughly all the daily newspapers of your town and one or more metropolitan papers having a larger circulation in the community.

All three committees are to watch for and make lists of any statements or suggestions made through these media that reflect unfavorably on racial or religious groups or social classes, or that otherwise seem to indicate prejudice against minority groups.

At your next meeting, have a discussion of these lists. Decide what is false or misleading about the statements. Analyze the motives and the backgrounds of the speakers or groups sponsoring them.

13. What is the most important problem of intolerance in your community? Let each member of the group present specific examples, with as much evidence as possible. After a discussion of each of these situations, make a list of practical solutions or remedies for them proposed by the group.

Decide on the three most important next steps to be taken toward eliminating these conflicts. Appoint committees to plan for and carry out these steps as far as possible by your group. Make sure that every member serves on at least one committee. Have regular reports of progress.

14. Name several famous cases of legal prosecution or conviction of individuals, either in America or Europe—such as the Dreyfus, Sacco and Vanzetti, and Mooney cases—in which there is reason to believe that prejudice against a minority played an important part. In each of them determine:

- a. The minority group involved.

- b. For what crime the accused was a scapegoat.
- c. Whether prejudice was used deliberately to turn suspicion from the real culprits?
- d. If prejudice was a factor, what elements profited by the result?

15. Make a detailed study of one serious case of race prejudice. For example, read *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1922), or a smaller booklet of excerpts from this book, *A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, containing recommendations of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations after the race riots of 1919. After studying this, answer these questions:

- a. In such explosive situations, is the responsibility for the outbreak usually or mainly on one side?
- b. What types of people form the leaders of rioting mobs?
- c. Are the police and law-enforcement agencies usually impartial in their attitudes toward clashing majority and minority groups?
- d. What are some of the commonest causes of irritation between such groups?
- e. What part does bad housing play in aggravating the race problem?
- f. What agencies spread rumors, myths, and inflammatory propaganda in such situations?
- g. Is it fair to "make an example" of one person for the sins of unknown persons of his group? Or to persecute an entire group for the acts of a few individuals?

16. Organize informal discussions on the following topics:

- a. The persecution of a minority ultimately endangers the majority.
- b. "Nativism" is a result of feelings of inferiority on the part of the native group.
- c. Freedom of speech must include freedom for expression of opinions we personally dislike.
- d. American culture derives its richness and vitality from the combination of many minorities.
- e. Racial and religious hatreds are fatal to the permanent health of a democracy.

After each discussion, take a vote among the whole group as to which point of view they consider most convincing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Pamphlets

- Adamic, Louis, *From Many Lands* (New York: Harper, 1940), \$3.50.
- Benedict, Ruth, *Race* (New York: Modern Age, 1940), \$2.50.
- Boas, Franz, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1911; rev. ed., 1938), \$2.75.
- Brown, F. J., and Roucek, J., *Our Racial and National Minorities* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937), \$5.00.
- Clinchy, Everett R., *All in the Name of God* (New York: Day, 1934), \$1.00.
- Coyle, David Cushman, *America* (Washington, D. C.: National Home Library Foundation, 1941), \$2.50.
- Eaton, Allen, *Immigrant Gifts to American Life* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1932), \$3.00.
- Fisher, Dorothy Canfield, *Seasoned Timber* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939), \$2.50.
- Frazer, Sir James G., *The Golden Bough* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), \$1.49.
- Hansen, Marcus Lee, *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1940), \$2.50.
- Hitler, Adolf, *Mein Kampf* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939), \$3.00.
- Klineberg, Otto, *Race Differences* (New York: Harper, 1935), \$2.50.
- Lasker, Bruno, *Race Attitudes in Children* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), \$4.00.
- Lee, Alfred M., and Bryant, Elizabeth, *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939), 75¢.
- Locke, Alain, and Stern, Bernhard J., *When Peoples Meet* (New York: Progressive Education Association, 1942), \$3.50.
- McClellan, Mary B., and De Bonis, Albert V. (editors), *Within Our Gates* (New York: Harper, 1940), \$1.28.
- Sears, Paul B., *Who Are These Americans?* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), 60¢.
- We Americans* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1939), 25¢.
- Williams, Chester S., *Our Freedoms* (five pamphlets) (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1940), 48¢.

Magazines

Common Ground.

Look Magazine, picture stories of America's national minorities (beginning September 13, 1941).

Scholastic, "Americans All" number (February 12, 1940).

Survey Graphic, "Calling America" number (February, 1939).

Directory of Agencies

Citizenship Educational Service, 122 East 42 Street, New York City.

Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Council against Intolerance in America, 60 East 42 Street, New York City.

Council for Democracy, 11 West 42 Street, New York City.

National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, 221 West 57 Street, New York City.

United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

